DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 072 480 CS 500 127

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TITLE	Bilingual Attitudes Towards Authority: A Canadian Study.
PUB DATE	Dec 72
NOTE	15p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Assn. (58th, Chicago, December 27-30, 1972)
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EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Attitude Tests; *Bilingualism; Cognitive Development; *Cross Cultural Studies; *Cultural Pluralism; *Language Research; Questionnaires; Second Languages; *Social Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; French Canadian

ABSTRACT

The hypothesis of this Canadian study was that attitudes toward authority of French-English bilinguals would differ from the attitudes of French and English unilinguals toward authority. Student subjects responded to questionnaires using Likert scales to measure hostility, acceptance, anxiety, and neutrality toward authority. Analysis of variance indicates that French Canadians hold attitudes which are more hostile toward authority than English Canadians, while English Canadians tend to hold attitudes which are more anxious toward authority than French Canadians. Results also lend partial support to the research hypothesis which predicted that the attitudes of bilinguals toward authority would differ from those of both the French Canadian and English Canadian unilinguals. (Author/RN)

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ED 072480

BILINGUAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY: A CANADIAN STUDY

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presented to the

International and Intercultural Division

Speech Communication Association

Chicago, Illinois
Dec. 27-30, 1972

CS 500 127

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Wallace Lambert (1967) reported that English speaking students began to experience a feeling of anomie as their competence in French increased, especially after they began to think and dream in French. Lambert's findings raise several questions concerning the influence of language on personality, in general, and on attitudes, in particular. This study addresses itself to the attitudinal consequents of language, in general, and bilingualism, in particular.

The study tests the hypothesis that the attitudes of bilinguals in French and English will differ from the attitudes of French unilinguals and English unilinguals. The theory and research supporting this hypothesis emerges from the social, emotional, and cognitive relations of language and attitudes. A discussion of the parameters of the relationship between language and attitudes follows definitions of the dependent and independent variables of the study.

Attitudes

"An attitude is an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to the individual's world " (Kretch & Crutchfield, 1948, p. 152). Operationally, researchers have defined attitudes as responses to an interviewer's questions, responses to paper and pencil tests, and readings on GSR. machines. This study defines attitudes as responses on a Likert type scale.

Several social and demographic variables influence attitudes: ethnic identification (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1968), social class (Cavan, 1964), religion (Glock and Stark, 1965), and language (Brazeau, 1961). Focusing on language as antecedent to attitudes, Raymond Crist (1968) argues that language builds certain attitudes into people, both in terms of the cultural implications of the origin of one's native tongue and in terms of the language patterns reflected in their conceptual structure. Crist's view of language and attitudes relates to John Carroll's definition of language.

Language

John Carroll defines language as:

> a structural system of arbitrary vocal sounds and sequences of sounds which is used, or can be used in interpersonal communication by an aggregation of human beings, and which rather exhaustively catalogues the things, events, and processes in the human enviroment. (1953, p. 10)

This definition implies the social, emotional, and cognitive nature of language. That language can be used in interpersonal communication by an aggregation of human beings reflects its social nature and implies an emotional dimension. That language catalogues the things, events, and processes in the human enviroment reflects its cognitive nature. It follows that language group members should hold attitudes which aid their functional, emotional, and cognitive integration integration to the language community. In other words, the attitudes of French Canadians should aid their functional, emotional, and cognitive integration into the French Canadian community as the attitudes of English Canadians should aid their functional, emotional,

and cognitive integration into the English Canadian community. The following pages review the theory and research relating to language and attitudes in order to predict the attitudes of bilinguals whose languages and attitudes must integrate them into two language communities.

Language and Attitudes

Both language and attitudes serve instrumental and integrative functions and it follows that the functions served by the French person's attitudes and language might differ from the function served by the English person's attitudes and language. Katz (1960) argues that attitudes can serve utilitarian (instrumental) functions and Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) posit the social adaptation (integrative) function of attitudes. In like fashion, Lambert (1967) points out the fact that language can serve the instrumental goal of getting ahead in one's occupation as well as the integrative function of gaining acceptance in one's language community. Consequently, the social attitudes of the French person should differ from the social attitudes of the English person as their respective attitudes serve to integrate them into differing social, familial, occupational, and, in some cases, religious patterns. Brazeau (1961), Auclair and Read (1969), and Ryan (1972) have shown that the attitudes of French and English Canadians do, indeed, differ.

The attitudes of the bilingual should also serve instrumental and integrative functions in respect to the two language communities to which the bilingual belongs. Thus, the attitudes of the French-

English bilingual integrates him into two communities whose attitudes differ from each other. It would follow that the attitudes of the French-English bilingual would reflect attitudinal components of each language group.

The same conclusion follows from the emotional correlation of language and attitudes. Hughes (1971) points to the relationship of language to the emotional connotations of nationalism and nationalistic attitudes possess emotional components by definition. It follows that the emotional dimensions of attitudes held by French Canadians might differ from the emotional dimensions of attitudes held by English Canadians especially in light of nationalistic and separatistic sentiment. The bilingual should understand if not experience the emotional correlates of his two language groups and his attitudes should lie between the emotional boundaries of attitudes represented by his two language groups.

A similar prediction emerges from a Whorfian notion which holds that the cognitive part of attitudes differ among speakers of differing languages. The Whorfian position holds that one's cognitive structure reflects the patterns of one's language and since different languages possess different patterns, the speakers of those languages should encode information in different ways (Fishman, 1966). As attitudes possess different cognitive characteristics by definition, the cognitive parts of attitudes should differ between language groups. Thus, the cognitive pattern of the bilingual should reflect both of his languages. One may conclude that the attitudes of the bilingual should aid his functional, emotional, and cognitive integration into the two

language communities to which he belongs.

Hypothesis

A consideration of the functional, emotional, and cognitive dimensions of language and attitudes in respect to bilingualism leads to the following hypothesis:

H_1: The attitudes towards authority of French-English bilinguals will differ from the attitudes of French and English unilinguals towards authority.

Methodology

Respondents

The eighty-seven respondents were enroled in undergraduate summer session courses in the humanities, social sciences, and education at the Universite de Quebec, McGill University, and Loyola of Montreal. Most respondents were engaged in full time occupations and, thus, were only part-time students.

Each respondent categorized himself according to his linguistic orientation and the twenty nine bilingual respondents reported equal ease with French and English at the time of response. The twenty-nine French respondents emerged from French speaking homes, spoke French as their first language, spoke French with the greatest ease at the time of response, and identified themselves with French Canadians. The twenty-nine English respondents emerged from English speaking homes, spoke English as their first language, spoke English with the greatest ease at the time of response, and identified themselves with English Canadians. The French and English unilinguals were matched with the bilinguals on both religion and socio-economic class background.

Research Instrument

Each respondent completed a 24 item Likert type scale designed to measure three affective dimesnions of attitudes towards authority; attitudes of hostility, attitudes of acceptance, and attitudes of anxiety. The scale emerged in a two step process simultaneously in French and in English. Four bilingual Canadians served as translators and ninety subjects drawn from the research population responded to the two sets of developmental questionnaires.

Developmental questionnaire # 1. Sixty respondents completed the first set of developmental questionnaires which asked respondents to judge the intensity of the affective attitudinal connotation of 120 items divided into four sets of thirty. The four sets contained items perceived to be either hostile, accepting, anxious, and neutral (these later served as the buffer dimension on the final scale) in affective attitudinal connotation towards authority. Each item was a declarative sentence referring to authority developed from authority oriented sentence stems used by Lindgren and Lindgren (1956) and Sallery and Lindgren (1966). The respondents followed instructions and categorized each of the thirty accepting, hostile, anxious, and neutral items into five categories: a) does not possess the affective attitudinal connotation, b) possesses the connotation, c) possesses a slight amount of the connotation, d) possesses quite an amount of the connotation, and e) possesses an extreme amount of the connotation. For example, the respondents categorized the following hostile statement into the five categories:

1. Politicans are undependable.

a) not hostile ____
b) hostile ____
c) slightly hostile ____
d) quite hostile ____
e) extremely hostile ____

Thus, each of the thirty French respondents categorized 120 items and each of the thirty English respondents categorized 120 items.

The ten items in each of the four sets of thirty which scored highest on attitudinal intensity in both French and English were chosen to be further tested in a second set of developmental questionnaires.

Developmental Questionnaire # 2. The forty items on the second set of developmental questionnaires contained the four sets of ten statements rated as the most hostile, accepting, anxious, and neutral in affective attitudinal connotation towards authority. This set of questionnaires was designed to check the ability of the items to measure the respective attitudinal dimensions.

The respondent followed instructions to categorize each of the 40 randomized items into one of four affective dimensions which in his perception the statement represented. Each item assumed the following general form:

1. I am speechless around law officers.

a) hostile ____
b) accepting ____
c) anxious ____
d) neutral ____

Test items which the respondents scored in the predicted manner with a frequency of 66.67% or higher were chosen for the research instrument. Of the 24 items on the final scale, seven measured attitudes of hostility

TABLE I

ANOVA OF BILINGUAL, FRENCH UNILINGUAL, AND ENGLISH UNILINGUAL GROUP ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY

SOURCE	MEAN SQUARE	DF	F RATIO	P
HOSTILITY	3.2III	2	0.I8I9	nsd.
ACCEPTANCE	I6.2999	2	I.8333	nsd.
ANXIETY	I09.7333	2	4.944I	0.0I

TABLE 2

SCHEFFE'S T TEST FOR BETWEEN BILINGUAL AND FRENCH GROUPS, BILINGUAL AND ENGLISH, AND ENGLISH AND FRENCH GROUPS ON ATTITUDES OF ANXIETY TOWARDS AUTHORITY

GROUPS	SCHEFFE'S T	ALPHA
BILINGUAL-FRENCH	5.639	4.I9 *
BILINGUAL-ENGLISH	0.070	I.38
ENGLISH-FRENCH	9.057	7.56 **

towards authority, seven measured attitudes of acceptance towards authority, seven measured attitudes of anxiety towards authority, and three served as buffers.

Procedure

The researcher with the help of the class professor passed out the research instrument prior to the lecture and summarized the letter of introduction which preceded the attitude scale.

The responses to the five option Likert type attitude scale were scored from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5) for each item and each respondent. The results were treated cumulatively for each attitude dimension and each subject yielding a range of seven to 35 on the hostility, acceptance, and anxiety dimensions of the scale. The resulting dependent scores were analysed by means of analysis of variance techniques. A t test was used for data snooping (Scheffe's t).

Results

The results lend partial support to the research hypothesis which predicted that the attitudes of bilinguals towards authority would differ from the attitudes of French Canadian unilinguals and those of English Canadian unilinguals. Significant differences between these groups appear on attitudes of anxiety towards authority although none appear on attitudes of hostility and acceptance towards authority (insert Table 1 about here). More specifically, attitudes of anxiety held by bilinguals differ significantly from the attitudes of anxiety held by French Canadians but not from the attitudes of anxiety held by English Canadians (insert Table 2 about here).

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that the attitudes of bilinguals differ from the attitudes of unilinguals although, in some cases, the difference does not reach significance. One may explain the significant differences between bilinguals and French unilinguals on attitudes of anxiety by arguing that the functional, emotional, and cognitive bases of bilingual's attitudes differs from the corresponding bases of the attitudes of French unilinguals. The lack of significance between the attitudes of bilinguals and English Canadians suggests that the functional, emotional, and cognitive bases of the attitudes of bilinguals does not differ from the corresponding bases of the attitudes of English Canadians. The relation of the attitudes of bilinguals to English Canadians takes on new relevance when one realizes that 24 of the 29 bilinguals spoke French as their first language. The lack of significance between the two groups plus the fact that the majority of the bilinguals spoke French as their first language suggests the existance of a significant trend on the part of bilinguals towards the English language group attitudinal structure at least in respect to attitudes of anxiety towards authority. The same trend holds (in a non-significant fashion) if one analyses the means of the bilinguals, English unilinguals, and French unilinguals in respect to attitudes of acceptance towards authority (bilingual: $\bar{x}$ = 15.8333; English unilingual: $\bar{x}$ = 16.1333; and French unilingual: $\bar{x}$ = 14.7333). This trend fails, however, if one analyses the means of the attitudes of hostility towards authority (bilingual: $\bar{x}$ = 23.2333; English: $\bar{x}$ = 23.8000; and French: $\bar{x}$ = 23.2333)

The analyses of the means also reveals that the attitudes of French-English bilinguals fall between the attitudes of French and English unilinguals as predicted in the review of literature. Thus, the mean of the bilinguals on attitudes of anxiety towards authority falls between the mean of the French and English respondents (bilingual: $\bar{x}$ = 21.2000; French: x = 24.3333; and English: $\bar{x}$ = 20.8666); the mean of the bilinguals on attitudes of acceptance towards authority does likewise (see paragraph above); however, the mean of bilinguals on attitudes of hostility towards authority is identical to the mean of the French language unilinguals. The bilinguals and French unilinguals hold attitudes which are more hostile (non-significantly) towards authority than English unilinguals. The results lead non-significant support to prior research which has reported that French Canadians hold attitudes of greater hostility towards authority than English Canadians (Brazeau, 1961; Malo, 1968; Ryan, 1972). The fact that the mean of the bilinguals falls on the mean of the French unilinguals in respect to attitudes of hostility towards authority suggests that this dimension of their attitudes reflects the French background of the majority of the bilinguals.

Conclusion

The anomie experienced by bilinguals may relate to the social psychological differences which accompany learning a second language and this study has demonstrated that the social psychological attitudes of bilinguals do differ from the attitudes of unilinguals in respect to anxiety towards authority. The results, in most instances, follow the predicted trend and the lack of significance may follow

either the control of religion and socio-economic class variables or the poor operationalization of bilingualism and unilingualism. In respect to the second factor, the permeability of the language group categories especially in relation to the French-bilingual and the English-bilingual groupings follows from the fact that most residents of Quebec have studied the second language either in highschool or college. Thus, few pure unilinguals exist in the province and this fact mitigated against significance.

Future research may focus on two interrelated dimensions of the social psychology of bilingualism; the characteristics of the bilingual's personality as compared to the unilingual's personality and the influence of bilingualism on listeners. The first dimension demands research such as that done above with greater attention paid to the operationalization of the language group categories. The social psychology of the bilingual may be consequent to the reactions of others to his speech patterns in terms of stereotypes and credibility reactions. This type of of research has profound implication for intergroup communications.

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